

Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0739

S E C R E T MANILA 0028

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: MILITARY BASE NEGOTIATIONS

FOR HABIB FROM SULLIVAN

REF: (A) 75 STATE 303140, (B) 75 MANILA 17926

1. CONVERSATIONS CONCERNING MILITARY BASES NEGOTIATIONS DURING MANILA VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORD TOOK PLACE ON TWO SEPARATE LEVELS. FIRST WAS IN SESSION BETWEEN TWO PRESIDENTS MEETING ALONE. SECOND WAS IN LARGER SESSION IN WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER, BRENT SCOWCROFT, AND I PARTICIPATED.

2. RESULTS OF THAT SECOND MEETING WERE ESSENTIALLY AS YOU DESCRIBE THEM IN PARA ONE OF REF A. THE ACTUAL AGREEMENT CONCERNING MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING WAS THAT IT WILL TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON "AFTER ASEAN SUMMIT MEETING." THIS WAS SUBSEQUENTLY (AND PUBLICLY) TRANSLATED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AS "EARLY MARCH."

3. IT WAS NOT RPT NOT STIPULATED HOW MANY SESSIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN WASHINGTON BEFORE WORKING LEVEL WOULD BEGIN TO TALK "IN EARNEST" IN MANILA. HOWEVER, I AM CONFIDENT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD IN MIND ONLY A SINGLE,

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RATHER CEREMONIAL SESSION IN WHICH MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE

WOULD BE LAID OUT BY BOTH SIDES AND NEGOTIATING DOCUMENTS
TABLED. MY GUESS WOULD BE THAT ROMULO MIGHT PREFER A MORE
EXTENSIVE WASHINGTON SCENARIO, BUT WILL SETTLE FOR WHATEVER
TIME HE CAN SQUEEZE FROM THE SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE. THIS
IS A POINT WHICH WILL NEED TO BE PINNED DOWN AND I WOULD
LIKE AUTHORIZATION TO OPEN IT WITH ROMULO IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

4. AS FAR AS GETTING A "NEGOTIATING PAPER" FROM MARCOS
PRIOR TO ROMULO VISIT, I WILL HAVE TO PLEAD IGNORANCE. I
INTEND TO HAVE ANOTHER GO AT MARCOS IN CONJUNCTION WITH
THE BRIEFING ON U.S. MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS WHICH I HAVE
ASKED (REF B) TO BE ABLE TO GIVE HIM IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.
EVEN IF WE GET A "PAPER," HOWEVER, I WOULD EXPECT IT TO BE
IN GENERAL FORM RATHER THAN THE TEXT OF A DRAFT AGREEMENT.

5. IN THIS CONNECTION, YOUR DISPOSITION RECORDED IN PARA
THREE OF REF A TO "LEAVE THE BALL IN PHILIPPINE COURT"
DOES NOT RPT NOT ACCURATELY REFLECT ATTITUDE OF U.S.
PARTICIPANTS IN PRESIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS MENTIONED IN
PARA ONE ABOVE. THERE WAS A MORE FORTHCOMING WILLINGNESS
TO TAKE INITIATIVES IN MAKING CHANGES AND ACCOMMODATIONS
WHICH WOULD IN TURN MAKE IT EASIER POLITICALLY FOR MARCOS
TO CONTINUE TO PERMIT US TO MAINTAIN OUR PRESENCE AT THE
BASES. WE ALL MUST REALIZE THAT WE WILL GET A BETTER
DEAL IF WE TAKE THESE INITIATIVES THAN WE WILL IF WE ARE
DRAGGED INTO CHANGES FROM AN ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE STANDPOINT.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE POINTED US IN
THIS DIRECTION AND IT IS NOW UP TO THE BUREAUCRACY TO
FOLLOW THROUGH.

6. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS CURRENTLY NO SINGLE COHERENT
DOCUMENT WHICH DESCRIBES OUR BASE RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES.
WE STILL DEPEND FROM THE 1947 AGREEMENT, WITH A SERIES OF
SUBSEQUENT NOTES AND CODICILS EFFECTING AMENDMENTS
IN THAT ORIGINAL EXCHANGE OF NOTES. IT WOULD NOT ONLY
REFLECT THE POLICY POSITION OF OUR LEADERS BUT ALSO HELP
TO FOCUS NEGOTIATIONS CONSTRUCTIVELY IF WE CAN TABLE A
SINGLE, COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT AGREEMENT AT THE MARCH
MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING INCORPORATING OUR DESIDERATA
FOR THESE BASES.

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7. WE ARE WORKING ON SUCH A DRAFT HERE AT THE EMBASSY AND
I WILL HAND-CARRY IT WITH ME TO HONOLULU WHEN WE MEET AT
THE CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE JANUARY 17. THIS SHOULD
GIVE YOU TIME TO CARRY IT BACK TO WASHINGTON AND HAVE IT
STAFFED BY DEFENSE AND NSC DURING THE FIRST THREE WEEKS
OF FEBRUARY. SINCE THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ME TO BE HIS
DEPUTY FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS, I WOULD EXPECT TO RETURN

TO WASHINGTON THE LAST WEEK OF FEBRUARY IN ORDER TO PARTICIPATE IN FINAL ARRANGEMENTS PRIOR TO THE ROMULO VISIT.

8. AS FAR AS I KNOW, YOU ARE CORRECT THAT NOTHING DEFINITIVE TRANSPIRED DURING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT WHICH WOULD INJECT ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS INTO BASE NEGOTIATIONS. (I DID NOT RPT NOT GET A DEBRIEF FROM THE PRESIDENT ON THIS ASPECT OF HIS PRIVATE TALKS WITH MARCOS.) HOWEVER, IT WAS AGREED THAT A "GLOBAL" ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WOULD BE NEGOTIATED (PROBABLY IN WASHINGTON) WHILE THE "EARNEST" BASE RIGHTS NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE IN MANILA. CONSEQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE NO RPT NO ORGANIC CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TWO NEGOTIATIONS, WE SHOULD BE UNDER NO RPT NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE CONNECTION IN FILIPINO MINDS AND PROBABLY IN FILIPINO TACTICS. IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT MY FILIPINO COUNTERPART AND I WILL SET ASIDE THOSE ASPECTS OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS ON WHICH WE FAIL TO REACH AGREEMENT SO THAT THEY CAN BE SETTLED BY "POLITICAL" DECISIONS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. IN INTERPRET THAT TO MEAN THAT MARCOS AND ROMULO WILL WISH TO HOLD OUT ON A FEW SIGNIFICANT ITEMS ON THE MILITARY SIDE UNTIL THEY GET APPROPRIATE SATISFACTION ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE. THIS IS NATURAL AND INEVITABLE.

9. ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, WE HAVE MANEUVERED OURSELVES (APPARENTLY DELIBERATELY) INTO A POSITION WHERE THE PHILIPPINES CAN EXPECT NOTHING OF ANY REAL SUBSTANCE FROM GSP AND NOTHING FROM THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA. THIS MEANS THAT THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC NEGOTIATING BURDEN WILL FALL ON THE BILATEAL TALKS. THIS CIRCUMSTANCE WILL PRODUCE DIRECT PARALLELS AS TRADE-OFFS ON THE BASES. I THEREFORE LOOK FORWARD TO THE SEPARATE MESSAGE (PARA FOUR, REF A) ON ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE I FEEL IT WILL HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON OUR MILITARY BASE ARRANGEMENTS.

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10. ACTION REQUESTED: IN SUMMARY, I REQUEST THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

A. THE MILITARY DEPLOYMENT BRIEFING FOR MARCOS, WHICH I WILL USE (NO LATER THAN JANUARY 7) TO PRESS HIM ONCE AGAIN FOR THE PHILIPPINE NEGOTIATING DOCUMENT;

B. AUTHORIZATION TO DISCUSS MINISTERIAL LEVEL SCENARIO FOR WASHINGTON MEETING WITH ROMULO (DISCUSSION ON OR ABOUT JANUARY 5, SINCE ROMULO LEAVES FOR CHICAGO JANUARY 6).

C. IN THIS CONNECTION, A CHOICE OF DATES IN EARLY MARCH FROM THE SECRETARY'S CALENDAR WHEN HE WILL BE

PREPARED TO OPEN THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL TALKS.

D. TRAVEL ORDERS FOR RETURN TO WASHINGTON THE LAST WEEK IN FEBRUARY, ASSUMING THAT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT DATE CAN BE FOUND IN EARLY MARCH.

E. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERDEPARTMENTAL WORKING GROUP (STATE, DEFENSE, NSC) WHICH CAN CONSIDER THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WE ARE PREPARING AND WHICH WILL FORM THE BACKUP FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. I HOPE GEORGE ALDRICH CAN BE A MEMBER.

F. THE SEPARATE MESSAGE ON ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH I TRUST WILL BE WRITTEN IN LIGHT OF THE OBSERVATIONS CONTAINED IN PARA TEN ABOVE.
SULLIVAN

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